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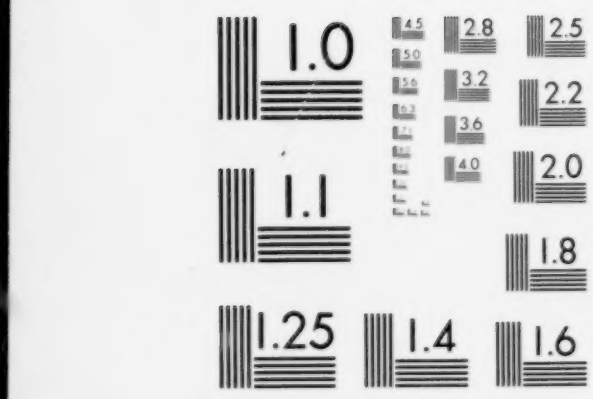

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ABSTRACT

"An interesting and perhaps significant aspect of Indian testimony during the urban hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity was the way in which Indian witnesses characterized Indian people. While the hearings did not specifically probe this area, occasional comments made during the course of testimony indicated that some Indian witnesses had clear perceptions of what it means to be Indian." This report organizes the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with Indian self-definitions. Much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses is included. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART III: INDIAN SELF-DEFINITIONS

by

Richard G. Woods
Arthur M. Harkins

Training Center for Community Programs
in coordination with
Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

June, 1971

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS
HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
PART III: INDIAN SELF DEFINITIONS

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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial Federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices -- Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of total (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with Indian self-definitions. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such

subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

An interesting and perhaps significant aspect of Indian testimony during the urban hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity was the way in which Indian witnesses characterized Indian people. While the hearings did not specifically probe this area, occasional comments made during the course of testimony indicated that some Indian witnesses had clear perceptions of what it means to be Indian. Only these explicit self-definitions are reported here; implied self-definitions (for example, the assertiveness of Indians reflected by a militant's call to action) are not summarized here.

"In-Between People"

Some descriptions of contemporary Indians by those who appeared before the Council had to do with the transitional status of Indian people. Sometimes this perspective was specified in terms of culture change, and at other times it was asserted in terms of Indian opinions and behaviors.

In Dallas, an Indian man made this observation:

> ...we're in the middle of the stream. We can't change horses now. I guess what I mean is, we're products of civilization. Ours is not to degrade, but to contribute to that civilization...When you move from the rural life to the urban life, this is just like when you move from the lower-lower, status quo, to the middle class. There's three or four steps you've got to take and it you're not prepared for it, you'll stumble.[1] [Emphasis added]

There was agreement from Chairman Harris in Los Angeles:

> ...we are not ghettos and are an in-between people, we are so hard to identify, is one of the biggest problems we have to overcome.[2] [Emphasis added]

In Minneapolis an Indian woman stressed the resistance of Indians to new cultural patterns:

> Sometimes people say, "What do you feel is the biggest contribution the American Indian has made?" As far as I am concerned, one of the biggest contributions is his resistance all this time to the culture that has been forced on him. He resisted long enough so that we can take a look at it, value

> it, evaluate it, and see where it's good and where it's bad, and where Indian culture is superior. As far as I am concerned, there is quite a bit of superiority in the Indian culture that has been completely overlooked.[3] [Emphasis added]

One behavioral example was that of tentative attachment to the labor force:

> ...all people don't want to hold a job forever. Many Indians like a job right here and now, and then they go away, and come back to another job. Somehow or other industry has got to understand this in order to help Indian people to hold jobs regularly. <u>They do not like to work a rigid pattern</u>. They like to come to a job and work for a while and when they are done, leave, and come back, and go again. There are many things different that people have to understand and it will take a while.[4] [Emphasis added]

But others suggested that Indians should be able to "stick it out" on the job, even when the work was physically taxing:

> I've been drunk many times. I've looked in the bottom of all kinds of bottles, to see what my troubles are. I found out it doesn't pay. So, I've always used my strong back, and I just answered my questions myself. A lot of other people can't do that. <u>They haven't got the intestinal fortitude to stay on the job</u>. When you come home at night you're practically sick from tiredness. When you come home at night and your legs are shaking, and your back is aching, you go to bed without supper, because you're too tired to eat. There are too many that can't do this.[5] [Emphasis added]

A related point of view appeared in Dallas:

> I mentioned a number of our Indian people in the area doing quite well, or at least I think they are; then, we have people not doing so well or who could do better...[Those doing well] know something, they've learned something down the line. They know the secret of work, responsibility, and such as that. <u>I sometimes wonder why some of our people can't grasp these things</u>. Of course, I know, you know, there's an underlying reason somewhere.[6] [Emphasis added]

Another perspective was that of Indians becoming confused and insecure because of the pressures of culture change:

We are talking, of course, about the so-called uncultivated Indian. Not the Indian that can get along anywhere, but the Indian who hasn't had too much education, who usually has little or no vocational skill. He experiences first of all what you might call a cultural shock because in most cases this will be his first experience in a world that is totally different.

The Indian who has served in one of the military services or who has been to a boarding school located in a city has had some training in getting some experience of the world outside, but he has usually more or less had his needs looked after. He has had his food provided, and he has had a roof over his head. Now, when he comes in for employment, he discovers pretty soon that he is actually on his own because the Bureau of Indian Affairs theoretically is not required to extend its services to the relocated Indian for more than a certain period of time.

> The first thing that usually occurs is that even though the Indians may have been very well trained in the actual job he has to do, he has not been trained in how to cope with the different situations he encounters in the city; how to adjust himself, for instance, to a totally different behavioral pattern that he finds among his neighbors and among the people he works with.
>
> He has to learn that he has to follow a regular schedule. Many times he has to punch a time clock. He has to learn that when he cannot come to work for some reason or another, he has to call in, and so on.
>
> Well, because his whole frame of reference is not on that level, and because he has values that are so totally different from the ones he encounters in his new experience he will, at first, usually be bewildered and many times he will become discouraged because he feels insecure. He does not really know what is expected of him.[7] [Emphasis added]

An Indian man in Phoenix attributed Indian difficulties with the city recreational program to lack of maturity:

> The city of Phoenix has a recreation program, but they cater to the Negroes and the Anglos. And the Indian just does not have a chance because of his structure. He is not mature. He can't take orders that are given by the coach and instructors.[8] [Emphasis added]

And another Indian man in Phoenix said:

> There are many adults in this crowd, including myself, that are still growing up as Indian people in this society. We are not grown-up people. We have not made it. We have all got family problems. We have all got drinking problems. We have all got inter-family and inter-personal problems. I don't think anybody can deny that.[9] [Emphasis added]

Lack of Confidence

Some Indians who spoke to the Committee characterized Indians as people without confidence and hope. These comments carried overtones of defeat as well as implications of lack of sophistication and experience, particularly in the urban setting.

In Los Angeles, Chairman Harris was questioning an Indian man who operated an organization designed to help Indians who were new to the city. He noted that conviction of Indians for misdemeanors was quite high and he attributed this to the tendency of Indian people to plead guilty rather than to "raise any fuss":

> THE CHAIRMAN: You think this is a culture characteristic? Not, say, more than any other ethnic group, I mean that -
>
> MR. WAPATO: Yes, I think, through the years the Indian person in this situation probably has developed the attitude of what's the use, so they'll go ahead along this line.[10] [Emphasis added]

A Minneapolis Indian militant shared this view, when he commented about an inner-city area:

> I dare anybody to walk around the Island on Saturday and watch some people with a lost look on their faces, the "what's the use" look. I see it in court every day, this "what's the use" attitude.[11] [Emphasis added]

A Dallas Indian minister commented about the absence of self-confidence:

> This is what, I feel, the Indian people don't have -- confidence in themselves...I feel the main thing is to get a little confidence in themselves, and a little ambition,

> and the actual wanting to do the things that will be good for them and their families, and of course for their employers.[12] [Emphasis added]

This lack of confidence, as it related to education and training, was the concern of an Indian man in Minneapolis also:

> We are attempting to make the adjustment from the reservation to the city. This is one of the major hang-ups, in my opinion, as to what is confronting or wrong with the Indian person. The lack of training, the skills -- maybe I shouldn't say this pertains to everyone, but some of my personal friends have told me this. One of the things which bothers them is their training. They have dropped out from school. <u>They haven't the courage or the confidence</u>, and this is one of the things that seems to be bothering them. I know, speaking for myself, it bothers me a lot, too.[13] [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris believed that Indians had assumed an identity of failure:

> We, as <u>Indian people, have become the stereotype of failures</u>. I have worked in different government agencies, not in the Indian Bureau, but with others. Indian people have the sitgma, with the general public, of failing in what they attempt to do.
>
> I don't know where this stems from, but I think it is a very serious thing that we need to overcome. I don't know exactly how to do this, but I know it is unfair.
>
> Even with well-educated, well-informed people, this stigma is in their minds. I hope that every organization on Federal, state and local level, and particularly schools will try to get this out of their minds. Not only is it in the minds of the general public, but the Indian people, themselves, believe this. <u>They believe they are going to fail, and even expect themselves to fail</u>.[14] [Emphasis added]

The subject came up again in Dallas, where a non-Indian professional photographer wondered why "some yo-yo from Scotland" was teaching his son about Indians in a Boy Scout troop, when Indians should be doing that. Chairman Harris responded:

> We're still in the process of growing and we're getting to the place, I think. There are many who are quite sophisticated or quite capable of doing this type of thing. There are others that do not have the confidence in themselves to do that. In fact one of the groups listed on the board there are even studying Indian themselves to be more authentic. They would be great groups to be called on, for resource people or that sort of thing. Well, one thing, by the nature, by his past experience -- an Indian person just doesn't go out. There are exceptions; again, I'm generalizing -- but he has to be made to feel comfortable and as yet apparently he hasn't been made to feel comfortable in surrounding communities.[15] [Emphasis added]

One Indian witness thought that lack of confidence was so pronounced among some Indian people as to constitute a character disorder:

> ...I've seen a lot of Indians come and go down here. I've had relatives and pretty good friends and some people are still here. Now, some people are doing real well, you know. Some people have a rough go from time to time. Some of them don't make it, some go back. I realize the Indian problem itself is a real established problem and it's going to be years and years -- only time and education will take care of our problems. A lot of these people, I think, or a whole bunch of them, come on this relocation thing, and it sounds like a good program. I think it is a good program, only if the individual will apply himself. Some lack character, somewhere down the line, some of these guys give up, they go back. They seem to think nobody cares and maybe nobody does.[16] [Emphasis added]

Finally, some perceived lack of confidence in terms of an impediment to Indian activism:

> There are so many things we should do, and we keep talking about them, but it seems like we never can generate enough enthusiasm to do these things.[17] [Emphasis added]

"Shyness"

There was a fairly common identification of a cluster of traits presumed to be "Indian." These included such characteristics as sensitivity, shyness, skepticism, and lack of aggressiveness.

It was expressed by an Indian woman in Phoenix this way:

> The Indians again I say are very sensitive people. I think I cannot stress this enough. I know myself, and just being not even a full-blooded Indian, that I can sense things about me, those about me, and the environments and all of that, that a lot of people don't think I can. And not always can I just put my finger on it, but my thoughts are there. And sure enough, a lot of times these things are exactly what I felt, but you know I could not really express myself or tell it just the way it would be, but it is there and I feel it.[18] [Emphasis added]

A Los Angeles Indian man protested the "bloodthirsty savage" image which he believed the mass media had bestowed upon Indian people. He commented:

> The Indian people are very shy and sincere by nature. I believe that they tend toward that. They are very sincere. I believe that most geniuses that they had, were people of this nature who tend toward introversion. I believe that is probably where some of the greatest scholars are from, and yet, when an Indian has to be educated in the white man's system, this image is imposed on him...I believe that statistics can also show that our suicide rate among our young is increasing, especially our teenage students. They seem to have a form of apathy and a lack of concern, lack of desire, lack of drive.[19] [Emphasis added]

A Dallas woman spoke of "pride" in relationship with social service agencies:

> As it is, there are some families that just won't ask for help. We're proud and we may need it, but we won't go ask for help, especially when the doors are closed to us. We go and we ask and they give us the run around. After you've made three or four calls, naturally, being an Indian you give up.[20] [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris affirmed this lack of assertiveness with respect to urban agencies when she said:

> I think we can verify from the testimony here earlier, that from the Indian community you're not going to see a great many people coming forward.[21] [Emphasis added]

In San Francisco, one witness protrayed Indian shyness as something which was likely to be misperceived by law enforcement officers:

> The Indian that might be a little tipsy going down the street, and is approached by the officer, the typical nothing-to-say Indian, might be mistaken as the silent, contemptuous, surly individual who might be keeping quiet because he has something to hide, so he's hauled off to the pokey.[22] [Emphasis added]

The possibility that shyness has something to do with skepticism arose in Dallas when an Indian woman said:

> You've got to prove yourself to me before I trust you.[23] [Emphasis added]

Sometimes, lack of Indian militancy was explained on the basis of "patience" as an Indian trait:

> It's my opinion that the Indian is patient and would like to resolve these problems with negotiations, debate, discussion, tolerance, and so on.[24] [Emphasis added]

A Los Angeles Indian man put it this way:

> Our traits and our pride, keep us from protesting or tearing up schools and universities. We try to use diplomacy. This is one of the traits given to us by our heritage.[25] [Emphasis added]

Leadership and Organization

Some who appeared before the Committee thought Indians were people who did not subscribe to leadership and who lacked organization.

A Dallas Indian man said:

> ...I feel like a lot of these people, for some reason frown on this leadership part, they don't want to follow. I don't know what it is.[26] [Emphasis added]

In the same city, Chairman Harris asked an Indian minister:

> CHAIR: I was wondering, what do you think is the biggest problem, lack of organization? You said if we could join together, we might solve these things.
>
> REVEREND NEAL: Yes.
>
> CHAIR: The lack of organization?
>
> REVEREND NEAL: And learning to trust, you know. We are slow in accepting leadership or friendship.[27] [Emphasis added]

An Indian militant who appeared before the Committee in Phoenix had strong feelings about Indian leadership:

> I don't think there is any such thing as an Indian leader. You don't lead Indians.[28] [Emphasis added]

Chairman Harris agreed that community organization for Indians was a difficult matter:

> What I am saying is, if you're not careful, your Indian community will just be left out because they have not had the experience or the organizational help. They haven't had themovement like the black people have, like the Spanish-Americans are now doing, because of the tribal differences and the regional differences, it's very difficult for them to organize into one group.[29] [Emphasis added]

In San Francisco an Indian man spoke of skepticism as a barrier to organization:

> One of the things that has always bothered me is trying to get the Indian people together. There is no worse skeptic than an Indian. This is one simple reason, why throughout the years there have been do-gooder whites and fast-talking Indians. For this reason, the Indian is a born skeptic. I am very much a skeptic. I don't trust this Committee or any other committee. For this reason, I have seen too many of them which do nothing, they will sit and listen, but they do nothing for the Indian. There have been no changes in the BIA; no changes in land rights.[30] [Emphasis added]

But one Indian man in San Francisco thought that inability to organize was not inherently Indian, but rather was contrived by whites:

> I want to talk about "unanimous." Indian people, when people hear that they can't get along, there's factionalism, they can't get along, I tell them that's a bunch of baloney. If I start talking about unity in here and what we can do as people, we can go out here unanimous opinions. We even -- right now, I sent a card out to a number of directors that had to do with the commission. I sent cards out and I got unanimous agreement on a very controversial thing, and every card that came back said exactly the same thing.
>
> Now, stop and think. Who tells you you can't get along? Where did you learn this thing about not being able to get along? Conquer and divide. Who wrote the school books? Who runs the school? Is it the conqueror or the conquered?
>
> Think about it a little bit. Now, are you the conqueror or the conquered? If you're writing the textbooks, you're teaching the school, you're running the establishment. Think about it a little bit.
>
> So, with somebody else, if you want to control people, you just keep them divided. Have the Sioux fight the Navajo. Have the urban Indians fight the rural Indians. Have the Inter-Tribal people get on the California Indian Education Committee. Keep them all divided and boy, you can really control them.[31] [Emphasis added]

And in Phoenix an Indian man proclaimed that Indians today have considerable unity:

> We have never been together like we are today, reservation-wise, city-wise or any other wise. We have never been together like we are today. I recognize other Indian people, whatever it is, and they are together, Navajos, Mohaves, and Pimas. We are working together. I think we can look for others for support in that if we have to get militant, if we have to make demands, there's nothing wrong with that. That is not a shame that we should get mad and angry occasionally and assert ourselves. We have got to overcome that kind of an attitude among Indian people. We have been nice too long.[32] [Emphasis added]

Positive Images

One kind of positive self-image for urban Indians (which will not be dealt with specifically in this report) is that which accompanies militant activity. Participation in protest seems to carry with it the identity of one who is struggling to overcome contemporary and historic injustice. In at least two of the cities visited by the Committee -- Minneapolis and San Francisco -- this self-image seems to apply to a significant number of those who appeared at the hearings.

There were other assertions of positive identity; some of these seemed to be defensive reactions to perceived derogation, and others were expressive of rugged perseverance in the face of mounting obstacles.

> My husband is a barber, he's an Indian, a full-blood Pueblo, from New Mexico. We don't ask anybody for anything. We work. I've worked all my life. I went to work in a general merchandise store in Oklahoma, the first job I ever had. It doesn't hurt anybody to work...Just give the Indian a chance. He'll make it when nobody else can. The Indian can make it, because he knows how to make it on nothing. I was raised on nothing, and we knew how to make it on nothing.[33] [Emphasis added]

An Indian man saw an affinity between Indians and the out-of-doors:

> I think recreation plays a big part within the Indian people in Arizona and in Phoenix. The Indian people are very sports-minded outdoorsmen. They are very active in these categories.[34] [Emphasis added]

Another view apparently was essentially defensive:

> You know, right is right, and wrong is wrong. The Indian knows right from wrong. Don't kid yourself, they're not stupid and dumb.[35] [Emphasis added]

A related perception was this one:

> There is no record of organized crime among Indians. Indians are not criminal-minded people. But just merely being drunk, they are treated like criminals.[36] [Emphasis added]

Negative Images

As this report has already indicated, lack of confidence is perceived by some Indians to be a distinctly Indian trait. It is not surprising, then, that feelings of little personal worth may be reflected by Indians. One Minneapolis Indian man observed:

> I don't know what we are talking about here; if it's education, I would say it goes deeper than that. It's a lot deeper than that. When I talk to my friends and we sit around, it's not the fact that they are uneducable or that they can't read or write, it deals more with view of their personal worth.[37] [Emphasis added]

In Phoenix, an Indian college student spoke of urban Indians as non-Indians:

> ...whenever I hear the term urban Indian I think of somebody very cold who things of himself not as an Indian.[38] [Emphasis added]

Similarly, in San Francisco, urban Indian children were described as having lost their identity:

> ...one thing that everybody tends to neglect, and that's the urban Indian child. That's the one who gets in trouble. That's the one who has forgotten about the reservation. The parents who drop out of, say, BIA, just refuse to go back to the reservation. They bring up these Indian kids, and they're lost. They lost their culture, their sense of identity, by becoming "asphalt Indians."[39] [Emphasis added]

Some images were more negative:

> I have often heard this remark, the Indian people are creating their own problems. That is what is wrong with them.[40] [Emphasis added]

Another witness remarked:

> I have sat here and heard too many people talk. I just can't stand this: pity me, I am an Indian. I just don't go for it at all. I think we are all old enough when we get to a certain age to ask questions, to inquire as to what we can do, where we can get help. It is nt going to be handed to you.[41] [Emphasis added]

And one Indian witness spoke of Indian prejudice:

> I left the reservation because there was no place I could get help simply for the reason the Navajo tribe was prejudiced against me for what I was doing. They are the most prejudiced people I have found, more so than those on the outside -- my own people. Every time I got a raise, they wanted to know what for. I got on the outside and when I got a raise, nobody said anything about it. They congratulated me, actually. So, I am trying to help my people who are coming off the reservation, trying to place them and help them. I can't get all of them, but those that I do, I try to help in one way or another.[42] [Emphasis added]

And an Indian man in Minneapolis observed:

> I think many positive and great things will be done, if we as Indian people band together to do it instead of trying to tear each other down.[43] [Emphasis added]

Other Definitions

One man of Pawnee-Chippewa descent stressed the changelessness of Indians:

> I would like to say, I don't believe an Indian will ever change, regardless of whether you put him on a reservation or bring him to the city, or to any other place. There are some things about an Indian he will never change.[44] [Emphasis added]

Another witness characterized Indian people as fundamentally afraid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

> Numbering less than two percent of the metropolitan population, he [the urban Indian] is not able to generate much power in speaking out for his own needs. Coupled with this is a basic fear of the Bureau, for no one wants to "bite the hand that feeds you."[45] [Emphasis added]

There was a new definition for satisfied Indians:

> REVEREND CALAMAN: You show me an Indian who is satisfied, and I'll show you a Tom.

FROM THE FLOOR: I protest on that. I'm not being called a Tom by anybody. I'm an Indian.

REVEREND CALAMAN: Are you satisfied?

FROM THE FLOOR: Yes.

REVEREND CALAMAN: That's all I have to say.[46]

Some Final Observations

1. This brief report focused upon definitions of "Indianness" offered by Indian persons who appeared before the Urban Indian Committee of the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 hearings in five cities. It is important to remember that the Committee did not specifically seek these definitions; they emerged mostly as incidental comments attached to observations about other concerns. Only explicit self-definitions were included in this report. This excludes the growing aggressiveness, protest and demonstration characteristics of Indian militancy, which will have to be considered elsewhere.

2. Indians were viewed by Indians as "in-between" people with a tendency to resist the imposition of at least some culture items from non-Indians. In this transitional situation, Indians were characterized by other Indians as being immature, unable to accept authority, insecure, unable to grasp the values of work and responsibility, lacking in perseverance on the job, and preferring casual, rather than long-term, attachment to employment. Most of these assessments of contemporary "Indianness" were offered in the spirit of promoting understanding of the dilemma of urban Indians and not as entirely critical commentary.

3. Indians were described as lacking confidence in themselves, as persons who survive with a sense of futility, as people unable to generate enough enthusiasm to undertake action, as individuals who are inclined to "give up," and as people who expect that they will fail. Usually, it was pointed out that not all Indians fit these descriptions and that some Indians

are "successful." Nevertheless, the concern of many witnesses clearly was with the problems associated with the characteristics of debility just mentioned.

4. Indians were pictured by other Indians as sensitive, shy, reticent, sincere, skeptical and sometimes misunderstood persons who are not likely to persevere in intercultural situations which present barriers. Indian young people were said to be apathetic, and to lack desire and drive. Indian patience and pride were identified as traits precluding much militant activity.

5. Indian leadership and organization were described by Indians as central problems. It was asserted that Indians have difficulty in accepting leadership and therefore lack organization. Indians were said to be skeptical because of past Indian and white leadership results, and therefore slow to develop the feelings of trust and friendship which could galvanize leadership and organization. On the other hand, some who appeared before the Committee stressed that Indians today are more together than ever before and that Indian disorganization could be traced to the "divide and conquer" tactics of white men.

6. There were some distinctly positive images. In addition to the implied positive self-worth of those who militantly seek to overcome injustice, there were definitions of Indians as ruggedly independent people who succeed through hard work. Indians were defined as highly moral, as not "criminal-minded," as knowing right from wrong. Some Indians described other Indians as sports-oriented outdoorsmen.

7. Also, there were some distinctly negative images provided during the hearings. Some Indians pictured other Indians as having low self-esteem. Urban Indians were described by witnesses as being non-Indians, as having lost their identity. Indians were said to create their own problems. They were pictured as people who need to replace self-pity with self-reliance. They were described as very prejudiced people who need to sbustitute unity around positive goals for tendencies to "tear each other down."

8. Some Indians described Indian people as changeless, even in the face of urban experience. There were some that thought Indians were people basically afraid of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because of the long history of dependence upon that agency, but there were others who pictured satisfied Indians as "Toms."

FOOTNOTES*

[1]Dallas, p. 49, Herbert Brown Otter.

[2]Los Angeles, p. 155, La Donna Harris.

[3]Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.

[4]Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.

[5]San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.

[6]Dallas, p. 210, Murray Rhodes.

[7]Phoenix, p. 69, Mrs. Juana Lyon.

[8]Phoenix, p. 74, Peter Homer.

[9]Phoenix, p. 40, Lee Cook.

[10]Los Angeles, pp. 108-109, La Donna Harris, Tim Wapato.

[11]Minneapolis, p. 204, Harold Goodsky.

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*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indians Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.
[Publications from the U.S. Government Printing Office]

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

[12]Dallas, pp. 158-159, Bertram Bobb.

[13]Minneapolis, p. 45, Charles Buckanaga.

[14]Los Angeles, p. 127, La Donna Harris.

[15]Dallas, p. 175, Mike Mabria, La Donna Harris.

[16]Dallas, p. 205, Murray Rhodes.

[17]Los Angeles, p. 145, Sam Kolb.

[18]Phoenix, p. 37, Mrs. Rose King.

[19]Los Angeles, pp. 59-60, Noel Campbell.

[20]Dallas, p. 46, Virginia Edwards.

[21]Dallas, p; 133, La Donna Harris.

[22]San Francisco, p. 55, E.E. Papke.

[23]Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[24]Minneapolis, p. 154, Ted Mahto.

[25]Los Angeles, p. 261, Ted Boles.

[26]Dallas, p. 65, Frank Watson.

[27]Dallas, p. 89, Reverend Neal.

[28]Phoenix, p. 52, Jess Sixkiller.

[29]Dallas, p. 187, La Donna Harris.

[30]San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.

[31]San Francisco, pp. 220-221, David Risling.

[32]Phoenix, p. 44, Lee Cook.

[33]Dallas, p. 56, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[34]Phoenix, p. 73, Peter Homer.

[35]Dallas, p. 60, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[36]San Francisco, p. 54, E.E. Papke.

[37]Minneapolis, pp. 47-48, Charles V. Buckanaga.

[38]Phoenix, p. 15, Miss Diane Porter.

[39]San Francisco, p. 65, Unidentified member of the audience.

[40]Phoenix, p. 126, Nelson Jose.

[41]Phoenix, p. 122, Miss Mary Bercier.

[42]Phoenix, p. 88, Mrs. Eva Metikos.

[43]Minneapolis, p. 109, Reverend Raymond Baines.

[44]Los Angeles, p. 98, Henry Roberts.

[45]Los Angeles, p. 251, William Ng.

[46]San Francisco, p. 4, Reverend Tony Calaman, Unidentified audience member.